471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
●773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1.	Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2.	Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.

This man lived along the large road.

4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.

Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

554 576 689

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;

And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.

6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:

Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:

7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';

If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

539
773 /47 cont./

8. Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja; — But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/

9. Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang. — When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.

10. Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi. — When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773 171 The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241 796 Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

773/612/262 /64 cont./ not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[484] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778/769 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

[113]

3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
[769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
• [773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

[103]

3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friederici relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

I
776 [188] [illustration appears here] [189] or bamboo. As has been said, the supreme god on Buru bears the name "lord, creator of
B
776 man." He sent down to earth his envoy, Nabiata, who came
773 down from the mountain Tomahoe and remained among the people for a while, giving them all kinds of instructions concerning divine worship.

M According to the Buginese, the first people came from the
776 union of a son of a god of the upperworld, Sangkoeroewira, and
773 the daughter of the god of the underworld, Goeroe ri Seleng. The two gods were brothers. They both decided to give up one of their children so that they could be joined in marriage and beget descendants who would venerate the gods. Sangkoeroewira sent his oldest son, Batara goeroe, down below after he had killed him and placed him in the stem of a bamboo with a clump of earth in his hand.

When the bamboo was halfway between the upper and lower worlds, it sprang open and Batara Goeroe came back to life in the form of a human being. He divided up the clump of earth and scattered the pieces to the four winds of heaven. Thus the earth arose and all that is on it.

Batara Goeroe lacked many things on earth and was very bored. His father sent him a house and all sorts of household goods in a thunderstorm. To relieve his boredom he sent him seven slaves.

When everything on earth was in readiness Goeroe ri Seleng remembered his promise, too. He sent his daughter, Njilitimo, to earth in a kind of litter, but she with her maidens, remained adrift at sea. She was found in this state by Batara Goeroe. He married her and the slaves married the maidens Njilitimo had brought with her, and thus the earth was populated.

T The Toradja of central Celebes have two supreme beings,
776 one in heaven and one on earth: Ilai (man) and Indara (maiden).
773 A better way of representing them would be "Father Sun" and "Mother Earth." Among the Toradja, the creation of man is thought of as a special event and is not identified with that of animals and plants. These gods form a human couple out of

MK 538 [574] [186 cont.] principally bânni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni = spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.

MK [539] The elong in the basa Bakkâ cannot be understood without explanation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesâssi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesâssi in the basa to-Bakkâ makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B RL 538 Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak, Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better

MK 538 informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called, respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one

MK [764 144] should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese

MK [773 776] and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

C 647 563 152 829 the city government. Maybe I am too hard, but it lines up with my steady claim: let them have democracy, but let them realize that they must pay for and use expert direction. And above all, they must work and learn. There are quite a few Dutch teachers around here in government schools, and that, to me, is good. I hope they stay. I do not know where they will get the money to pay them in a land run by economic illiterates. They try all sorts of ideas. I note that they often ask me why the United States does not help. For example, Andi said, "Why was it that the United States or some American firm did not build a factory in Makassar." I told him frankly that the reason was that there was no money to be made in South Celebes and that they would not come unless they could see certain profit. For example, who here could buy cars and other manufactured products? He took it well. Another interesting thing here is the way they are not at all bashful about the price of things. Everything I have they want to know the price of. This is especially true of the old Sulewatang. However, I met doctors at the beach, and they were rather sophisticated. And still they wanted at once to know the price of my camera as everyone else does. The old Sulewatang came into my room today and looked at everything, asking the price of each object. He commented that everything was wonderful. He also asked if I could not get some of the things he was handling for him! Thus, he obviously wanted my pencil, and whatever else I had. He asked if I could not get him just a small raincoat like I had. I have to be careful, but I manage to turn them off.

M 565 759 829 ●773 To get back to the first kampong trip, and also to my talk with the Sulewatang at his home the evening before; he told me that it was easy for anyone to know what per cent of blood was in any individual. Thus everything is figured out in per cent. He used the word "pro sen"! Thus if someone who is 100 per cent marries someone who is 50 per cent, the children are 75 per cent. And if someone who is 50 per cent marries someone who is 25 per cent, then the children are 35 per cent (he noted that you just cut the difference!). Thus the notable class consciousness is perhaps clearer here than anywhere else. To what degree is magic power involved? He agreed that there is practically no pure blood royalty in Bone. He knew well the stories of heaven descent, the names of gods, and so forth. I wonder if his son knows about them too? He said that the sanro [a type of native doctor] are still in. Some are doctors, that is, healers. This is all in line. He said that some of them were half men, and seemed to agree that

this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her. 773 778

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows: 609 162

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

1.	5.6	Houses: 1.	51
2.	4.6	2.	13
3.	5.2	3.	49
Total	5.1		113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162 463

[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643